

REASONS

For the Present

Conduct of *SWEDEN*,

In Relation to the

Trade in the Baltick:

SET FORTH

In a Letter from a Gentleman at *Dantzick*,
to his Friend at *Amsterdam*.

Translated from the *French* Original, published in *Holland*; and now submitted to the Consideration of all just and impartial *Brittons*.

L O N D O N:

Printed for the Author, M DCC XV.

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In a Letter from a Gentleman at Danzig,

to his Friend at Amsterdam

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LONDON :

Printed for the Author, M DCC XLV.

THE
PREFACE.

THE Author of the following Translation, having read in the Printed Votes of the House of Commons, That several Papers, relating to the Trade in the Baltick, have been lately call'd for, he presumes, it is in order to form some Resolution upon that important Affair.

He observes with great Concern, how far the Clamours of certain self-interested Men, and very false Accounts, given by a Parcel of mercenary Scribblers, have avail'd, to incense this Nation against the Swedes; and he is justly apprehensive of the sad Consequences this may occasion.

There is a Current Report of a Fleet's being order'd from hence, as well as from Holland, to the Baltick; not to assist Sweden, and prevent its utter Ruin, as that Kingdom has Reason to expect, from the most solemn and sacred Treaties, that ever yet subsisted between Nations; but to protect a Trade ruinous to it self, and infinitely advantageous to its Enemies.

What Truth there is in this Report, the Translator does not pretend to determine; he only aims in general, to prevent, if possible, the engaging in any violent Measures, which, by undoing one of the Chief of the Protestant Powers, must unavoidably endanger the whole Protestant Interest.

He is too well convinced of the Justice and Humanity of the British Nation, as well as their Zeal for the said Interest, to apprehend their running into any Extreames upon this Occasion, when they are but once thoroughly apprized of the pressing and just Reasons, that influence the present Conduct of Sweden.

These having been set forth at large, in a Letter from a Gentleman at Dantzick, to his Friend at Amsterdam, publish'd last Year in Holland, upon Account of two Proclamations, that were then newly issued by the States General, concerning the aforesaid Trade; this Letter is now translated into English, and here presented to the Publick.

The P R E F A C E.

The Purpose of which, is to shew; First, The Insignificancy, Injustice, and indecent Language of those Proclamations; Secondly, To prove the undeniable Justice of the Swedes, and what absolute Necessity they were under, to proceed as they did; Lastly, To give a more particular and perfect Account, than has hitherto been done, of the Czar's present Undertakings and vast Designs, as well as their fatal Consequences, with Respect to the Trade of the Maritime Powers.

It shall be left to impartial Judges, to determine how much, of what the Dutch are tax'd with, in this Letter, may be apply'd to the British Nation.

There are Treaties of the same Nature, and as binding, between Great-Britain and Sweden, as any between that Kingdom and Holland. The defensive Alliance, concluded in the Year 1700, between King William, of Glorious Memory, and the present King of Sweden, contains the very same Promises and Stipulations with those, the Swedes claim Performance of from the Dutch; any Assistance afforded, directly or indirectly, to the Enemies of Sweden, is equally forbid.

The Conduct of the English, in the former War with France, was the same with that of the Dutch; they unanimously declared all the Coast of France block'd up; they brought up, without Distinction, all Merchant Ships going thither, and coming from thence; insomuch, that Sweden has a Demand of 503957 Rixdollars, upon this Nation, on Account only of Ships thus brought up, and confiscated, in the Years 1691, 1692, 1693, and 1694.

There is great Cause to suspect, that Self-Interest may have seduc'd many Persons here, as well as in Holland, to furnish the King of Sweden's Enemies, with Necessaries for supporting the War: At least, thus much must be acknowledged, that the Muscovite Fleet consists, chiefly, of Ships built and arm'd here; and, that at this very Time, there are Four or Five of 40 and 60 Guns in the River, only waiting for a fair Wind, and favourable Opportunity, to join the Czar's Fleet.

Great Britain sure, will, one Time or other, confess, how repugnant it was to her true Interest, thus to increase the Czar's Power by Sea; the 11th Article of her Treaty, in 1661, with Sweden, shews, at least, that it is contrary to express Stipulations, and Agreements.

If what is contained in the following Sheets, can be powerful enough to take off the Odium, so undeservedly cast upon a brave Protestant People, by their secret and avowed Enemies; if thereby, the British Nation can be persuaded to look back to its antient Maxim, of Supporting Sweden, and, upon mature Consideration, lay aside the Thoughts of all violent Means; then the End of this Publication is sufficiently answered.

A
LETTER

FROM

A Gentleman at *Dantzick*, to his Friend at
Amsterdam.

S I R,

I Thought I had satisfyed you, in communicating to our common Friends, the two late Proclamations of their High Mightinesses the States General, upon the Subject of Commerce and Navigation in the *Baltick*, together with your Complaints of the *Swedish* Senates persisting to take and bring up all the *Dutch* Ships, that go and come from the *Swedish* Ports, now in Possession of the *Muscovites*. But since you press me so earnestly for the Opinion of our said Friends on this Occasion, they have at last given me Leave to comply with your Request.

First, Let me premise, that you must not expect my Relations should pursue the Order and Method of your Letter, nor repeat all its Contents, because the Passages refer'd to will readily occur to you.

You are surpriz'd, you say, that *Sweden*, (at a Time when it is assaulted, and almost overwhelmed by so many Enemies; when it wants and prays the Assistance of *Holland*, and when these Grievances are under the immediate Consideration of Your Republick) should render this good Disposition ineffectual, by giving Leave to bring up all Ships belonging to their Subjects, that go and come from the above mention'd Ports. *Sweden*, you say, perseveres in this Course, notwithstanding all the Remonstrances of the *Dutch* Minister residing at *Stockholm*; and with such Warmth, as if open War had been declar'd; insomuch, that the States General, mov'd by the Losses of their Subjects, and desirous to put an end to this great Interruption of so necessary a Trade, have taken the vigorous Resolution, of publishing the above-mention'd Proclamations.

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Thus your Letter sets out: But we are still more surpriz'd here, that, at a Time, when, by your own Confession, the Kingdom of *Sweden* is doing its Utmost towards its own Defence, your Republick should look on its Calamities with that Indifferency, as tho' she had no Interest in preventing its Ruin.

Whatever you may think of the Matter, you are under the strongest Tyes of Treaties, Alliances and Guaranties; and, (which is more) of your own Interest, for its Support; and yet you act, as if you did the King of *Sweden* a special Favour, in not declaring openly for his Enemies. Trade, you say, is as the Apple of the Eye to your Republick; 'tis wounded even with a Touch; this is very true, when Commerce in general is understood; but the Saying can't be applyed with any Propriety to a particular Trade, which, by contributing to the Gain only of a few private Men, must in the end furnish the *Muscovites* with Means to run away with Trade from your Republick, and render it impracticable for the Time to come.

Either you in *Holland* don't foresee the dangerous Consequences of this Trade, in the present Juncture; and consequently believe it may well enough agree with your Interest, to let the *Muscovites* possess a Sea-Port in the *Baltick*: Or, else you must allow, that the Measures taken, to support them by open Force, and the Heats and Animosities raised against *Sweden*, and aggravated by the Two late Proclamations, are Steps hardly to be excused.

Your Friends here want to know, what need there was for prohibiting just now the Exportation of Arms, to any of the Powers engaged in the Northern War. Had not this Prohibition been already most expressly stipulated in the Treaty of Commerce with *Sweden*? And is it not positively promised therein, That you will not furnish with Arms, &c. any of the Enemies of that Nation?

If here you insist upon this Treaty's being expired, you cannot deny at least, that the Republick is in a most strict manner allied to the King of *Sweden* by the Treaty of 1700, confirmed by that of 1703; and that by Virtue of this Alliance, She is not only forbid, in any manner directly or indirectly to aid his *Swedish* Majesty's Enemies, and consequently not to suffer Her Subjects to do it; but that She is also in express Terms obliged to assist that Prince.

It might have been reasonably expected, that you should accordingly, long ago have shew'd your Resentment against those, that acted contrary to these Treaties; but instead of causing them to be duly executed, you now confound *Sweden* with its Enemies; for your Proclamations speak without Distinction of the Powers engaged in the Northern War, and do equally prohibit the carrying any Arms or Ammunition to the *Swedes*, as well as to the *Muscovites*.

Pray how came the Republick thus free from her Engagements, which however are so far from being any ways weaken'd, with respect to *Sweden*, that they are still more binding, since the Peace concluded with *France* and *Spain*? Have you, after all this, a tolerable Pretence for standing Neuter? Your Prohibition, which intimates, as if you were under no greater Obligations

ons to the King of *Sweden*; than to the *Czar* of *Muscovy*, affords us but too much ground of Suspensions, that your Republick would have her Treaties serve no other Purpose, than her own, in binding down other Princes alone. Besides, they, that go about to explain this Prohibition, as made in favour of *Sweden*, would do well to consider, that, let the Intention be never so good, yet the Antidote is much too weak for the Poison, and the Remedy comes after Death. You seem to rouze, but it is when the Mischief is already done.

No body can be ignorant, how forward your Officers have been to lift themselves in the *Czar* of *Muscovy*'s Service. Numbers of the best Shipwrights, and ablest Workmen, are gone, to form his Navy, and to build his Ships and Gallies. And your Merchants, to shew their Zeal, have sent to him, upon their own Risque, Necessaries for a considerable Fleet.

Moreover, They have even caused Men of War to be built, fitted out, and armed, and all this under Pretence of Commerce, and to fetch Merchandizes; but in fact, to deliver the said Ships to the *Czar*, pursuant to previous Contracts. I won't so much as mention the several sorts of Ammunition the *Muscovites* have been furnish'd with, both by the Way of *Archangel*, and directly by that of *Petersburgh*, *Reval*, and other Places: And whereof whole Cargoes of Ships, that have been taken, are undeniable Proofs. And if they were not, His *Czarish* Majesty's Fleet, which, without these Helps, he could never have been able to put to Sea, and which is served and commanded chiefly by *Dutch* Officers and Sailors, is a sufficient Instance hereof.

And after all, what need was there for such a Proclamation, seeing none of you could be ignorant of what you were obliged to by Treaties? When the Facts are evident, the Inferences from thence are easily drawn.

It has been shewn, that your Prohibition was useless in it self, and that it was useless by being publish'd too late: It remains so still, in regard to the Effects, that are expected from it for the future, especially as long as your Subjects have Reason to question the Sincerity of their Sovereigns, and their Intention in favour of *Sweden*, as no doubt they have, considering with what Violence these insist upon the Liberty of a Navigation, which every body must own to be pernicious and fatal to that Kingdom, at this present Juncture.

This is so true, that your Friends have Letters, whereby it appears, that even at this Time, and notwithstanding the Prohibition made, Mr. *Tressel*, a Captain belonging to the Admiralty of *Zealand*, is enter'd into the *Czar*'s Service, as Vice-Admiral, having got Leave from the said Court of Admiralty, and obtain'd a general Discharge from his Oath taken to the Government; and that several Men of War, fitted out in *Holland*, staid only for a fair Wind to go and join the Fleet of the *Czar*. Such kind of Proclamations, issued only, as one would think, for Form sake, will hardly frighten any body. However, had it been publish'd early enough, the States would, at least, have made a Shew of performing what they were oblig'd to; but, considering the above mention'd Circumstances, they don't so much as even disguise their true Intent, which can be nothing else, but to favour the Enemies of *Sweden*, in spite of Treaties.

What

What good Reason was there, after all this, to be so angry with that Kingdom? Since 'tis become your common Cant, to say, There's no hindering Traders from carrying their Merchandizes where they will. Is *Sweden* to blame? Nay, is she not under an absolute Necessity to concert Measures for her own Safety, and to hinder, if possible, the further Violation of Treaties? Especially after the *Swedish* Minister hath so often solicited and remonstrated in vain on this Occasion, and made sufficiently appear, that a Connivance of this Nature was entirely destructive to the Kingdom. It may be concluded from hence, with what Shadow of Justice your Second Proclamation has been Published, which contains in Substance; 'That whereas, notwithstanding the repeated Instances of their *High-Mightinesses*, made to the Regency in *Sweden*, against the frequent taking and confiscating the Ships and Effects of the *State*; the *Swedes* persevere in the same Way, having lately brought up several *Dutch* Ships, without assigning any sufficient Reason for the same; which must needs be look'd upon as an open Piracy. Their *High-Mightinesses* therefore do order and authorize all Proprietors of Ships and Effects, taken by the *Swedes* from the Subjects of the *State*, to seize upon the same, in whatsoever Ports and Rivers they may find them, and appropriate them to their own Uses, notwithstanding any previous Confiscation made by Virtue of the Sentence of a Judge.

The more one reads of this Proclamation, the more one must be shock'd with a Language so unbecoming Majesty. Besides, there is a plain Contradiction not only in the Sense, but even in its Terms. It is own'd, that the *Royal Senate* has been required to repeal Her Orders given for bringing up the *Dutch* Ships, which go and come from *Swedish* Ports, possess'd now by the *Muscovites*, and consequently that the Prizes are made by the Authority of his *Swedish* Majesty; nevertheless, these Prizes and Confiscations are stil'd *Pyracies*. If the Signification of this Term had been duly weigh'd, sure this outrageous Expression had been omitted. *Pirates* are a Set of Rogues, that cruize without any publick Leave or Authority. A *Pirate* is a Robber, who, in Justice, deserves a publick Punishment.

How can this Definition be apply'd to the Captains of the *Swedish* Men of War, who do but execute the Orders of their King, cruize upon the forbidden Coast, and render the above-mentioned Ports inaccessible, thereby preventing a Commerce, which tends to the utter Ruine of the Kingdom? Or is it well to be apply'd to the *Swedish* Privateers, furnish'd with good Commissions, and who shew their Zeal for the Preservation of their Country, pursuant to Orders given them by their Sovereign?

Such Language might, perhaps, rather be apply'd to the Privateers of some of your Provinces, who in the late Wars of the Republick with *France*, have, without the least Distinction, brought up *Swedish* Merchant Ships, notwithstanding the Liberty allowed them by Treaties, to trade to all the Ports of *France*, that were not block'd up. What colour

colour of Equity can you lay upon these Expressions? For sure the *States* won't call those Proceedings Piracy in others, which their own Men of War and Privateers practised, till the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Utrecht*. Why are you in such a rage against a Nation which hath only followed your own Examples? The same Things done by the *States*, meerly for Interest, cannot be look'd upon as unlawful, for the *Swedes* to practise upon Necessity. What the *Republick* thought *She* might fairly act in the Ocean, must not be deny'd to the King of *Sweden* in the Seas under his Dominion: Because, what the *Republick* did, only by Right of War, the King of *Sweden* is obliged to by down-right Emergency. The Measures taken by the *Dutch*, only to destroy their Enemies, the *Swedes* are forc'd to make use of for their immediate Defence, and in Time of the greatest Pressure, when all Laws, both Divine and Humane, allow of proper Expedients to ward off their approaching Ruine, which the *Dutch*, whatever Friendship they may pretend, drive on, by a Conduct quite contrary to their Treaties and Engagements.

You have ever disapproved of satyrical and offensive Expressions, in all Papers wrote without Authority, as proceeding from a dangerous Itch of Scribling, the Effect rather of idle Ostentation, than the Product of serious Reflection. But how came you immediately to change so just and well-grounded a Sentiment, and appear extreemly delighted with the Word *Piracy*, whose Signification is still more insulting in the *Dutch* Language, in which your Proclamations were writ? Does Animosity look better in an Authoritative Writing, than in a Pamphlet? According to your Opinion, Moderation in Writing, as well as in Actions, ought always to be the Distinguishing Character of a *Republick*. Hitherto Pyracies and Moderation, have hardly been esteemed Terms Synonymous. This Virtue of Candor, so glorious to your *Republick*, upon Occasions infinitely nicer, has here suffer'd Shipwrack in a Calm, and the Clamours of a few self-interested Men, have prevail'd upon your Government to use Expressions derogatory to her Dignity, in a Paper published by her own Authority, which no body can ever read over, without observing this Contradiction.

You may, perhaps, urge, that this Proclamation being only for Subjects, the *States* need not shew any Nicety of Expression, where no other Prince is concerned. If hereby is only meant an Edict prescribing Rules, or regulating the Conduct of one Subject to another, with relation to their own *State*, we have nothing to object; But you unfortunately own your self, that the above-mention'd Proclamation is quite of another Nature, setting forth their *High-Mightinesses* pretended Reason of Complaint, and directing their Subjects how to demean themselves towards the Subjects of the King of *Sweden*, with Regard to Ships taken by these latter.

It must then of necessity be deemed a kind of a Manifesto, or Declaration; in a Word, a publick Writing, design'd not only to give the World a just Idea of the Motives of the Conduct of the *States*-

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General, but likewise to ordain, what their Subjects must do and observe.

The greatest Sovereigns have always affected to shew their Moderation in Edicts of this Nature, and even when they commence Enemies, and are about to break all Ties of Amity, Alliance, and Interest; every Thing offensive to the Majesty of Kings, uses to be carefully avoided in their very Declarations of War.

To convince you of this Truth, do but read over your Republic's Declaration of War against *France*, and see if you can find there any Expression, which comes up to that of Piracy.

I proceed now to your Complaints, and the Reasons you urge, why the *Swedes* ought, in a more especial manner, to favour the Commerce of the Subjects of the States.

You maintain, That, according to the 14th Article of the Treaty of Commerce between *Sweden* and the Republic, your Commerce and Navigation to the Ports of the Enemies of *Sweden*, ought to be unmolested. The Justice of this Convention is readily acknowledged, if rightly understood; for then it has no Regard to the Ports now in Debate, which of Right belong to *Sweden*, tho' since taken by its Enemies. Superiority and Violence can't be said at all to change the Nature of Things; Peace will restore them to their former Condition. The King of *Sweden* has the sole Right of Regulating their Commerce, in such manner as he shall find agreeable to his Interest, and the Preservation of his Dominions; no Foreign Power whatsoever having any just Pretence to oblige him to suffer a Navigation, which tends directly to the Destruction of His Kingdom.

His *Swedish* Majesty's Tenderneß and Regard for the Welfare of his Subjects, that inhabit the said Ports, cannot but suffer, if he is forced to deprive them of so profitable a Trade. But extream Evils require Remedies proportionable to the Danger. It is a Misfortune upon those, whom the Events of War make liable to such Hardships: But Justice as well as Reason, supported by Necessity, require this Sacrifice, which faithful Subjects, in this Case, will always make of their Interest with Resignation. But, suppose the so much talk'd of Convention is affirm'd to include these Ports, is not the same limited by a very positive Restriction in the 16th Article of this very Treaty? And does not this Article say in express Terms, That no Navigation ought to be allowed of, to the Ports block'd up by either of the Confederates?

Sure the *Dutch* cannot pretend Ignorance in this Case; the King of *Sweden* has declar'd all the Ports, that should be taken from Him by his Enemies, to be block'd up. He keeps his Men of War on their Coast, and permits all his Subjects, who are able to shew their Zeal, to arm Privateers, and oppose those, who, notwithstanding these Warnings, would bring Succour to His Enemies. They, who are acquainted with the said Sea Coasts, know, that a single Frigate is sufficient to hinder, so much as a small Fisher-Boat entering into the River of *Duna*; and that Two or Three Vessels at the Height of *Hangoe*, can shut up the Passage to *Reval*, *Narva*, *Petersbourg*, and the other Ports of *Lifland* and *Finland*. Your Traders may therefore impute their Losses to themselves. Nobody pities him, that
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throws himself rashly into Danger, nor can he be said to commit Violence, who only makes Use of his Right, to prevent his own Destruction.

After what has been said, no body sure can, with Justice, tax the King of Sweden's Orders, on this Occasion, with Animosity. His Majesty undoubtedly foresaw the pernicious Consequences of this Commerce, to his Dominions, during the present War, of which the Naval Forces of the Czar, so suddenly grown great and formidable, are undeniable Proofs. Nor can you look upon this Proceeding as an Innovation, and never practised before. Sweden has been possessed of the aforesaid Provinces above these 100 Years: All the Kings, from *Eric XIV.* to *Gustavus Adolphus*, have always, in parallel Cases, supported their undoubted Right of Dominion over the *Baltick*, and asserted their Prerogative, making themselves sole Judges of what was necessary for their Defence.

When, in the Year 1561. the *Russians* took *Narva*, and laboured to establish their Commerce there, the *Hanse-Towns*, and chiefly that of *Lubeck*, endeavour'd to possess themselves of this Navigation. *Eric XIV.* then King of Sweden, gave them to understand, that he would not acquiesce therein. The City of *Lubeck* represented this Refusal, as altogether new, they having had Commerce with the *Russians*, Time out of Mind, and pleading the Common Right of Nations, for their Navigating at large in the *Baltick*, as well as others, provided their Vessels carried no Contraband Goods. The King hereupon declared, That he disputed not, with the *Hanse-Towns* Liberty of Trading with the *Russians*, but only that Trade to the City of *Narva*; which being a manifest Prejudice to all his Kingdom, he could by no means allow of; that as he had the same Right in his Dominions, as other Princes in theirs, he might either open, or shut up, the Navigation of the *Baltick*, as far as he was Master of it: And lastly, That he would, as should be most agreeable to the Interest and Welfare of His Kingdom, continue to seize their Ships, sailing to *Narva*, in Defiance of His Majesty's Declaration.

The *Russians* having, in the Year 1579. broken the Suspension of Arms with Sweden, the *Danes* likewise claim'd a Navigation to *Narva*, by Virtue of their Treaty, but King *John* was as positive in maintaining the contrary, as his Brother *Eric*; he would not allow the Words of the Treaty to be explain'd out of their natural Sense; for, that the Liberty of Navigation, which was allow'd of during Peace, could not extend it self to the Time of War, especially seeing all Navigation and Commerce, at such a juncture, contributed towards augmenting the Forces of the Enemies.

But without looking so far for Reasons, to justify the King of Sweden, your own Republick may furnish an unquestionable Proof, that Sovereign Powers often use this Precaution in Time of War, to hinder the Enemy's receiving any Aid. In the War, which determin'd with the Peace of *Ryswick*, did not the Republick, judging it for Her Interest to declare all *France* in general to be block'd up, forbid all the Neutral Powers all manner of Trade with that Kingdom; and cause all their Ships to be brought up, that went thither, or came from thence, without any Regard had to the Nature of their Merchandizes?

The Republick was then far from being reduc'd to such Extremities; nor had she so pressing Reasons for it, as *Sweden* has at present. Her Declaration was barely grounded upon the Right of War, and her own Convenience. And yet this pretended Blockade was then look'd upon as a just Reason, to bring up and confiscate all *Swedish* Ships.

The Crown of *Sweden*, being always more moderate, than that of *Denmark*, delay'd its just Complaints till the Conclusion of the Peace, whilst this latter made Reprizals in the Ports of *Norway*.

Surely, this Moderation, by no Means, deserved to be treated with the Violence authorized by your Proclamation, altho' the Crown of *Sweden* had not, at present, a more unquestionable Right, than the States General had at that Time.

The just and great Difference, that ought to be made between the pretended Blockade of the whole *French* Coast, and that of the Places and Ports taken by the *Czar*, notwithstanding the Guaranty due from the States to *Sweden*, gives this Nation a full Right, at least during the Course of this War, to hinder its Enemies from reaping any Advantage, whereby their Forces may be considerably augmented.

This same Distinction, and the Obligation, the States lye under, not to favour the Enemies of *Sweden*, nor to enrich them, at the Expence of this Crown, during the War, justifies its Proceedings beyond all Contradiction; especially at a Time, when it feels it self reduced to many Extremities, for Want of that Support, which might reasonably be expected, not only in Virtue of a most strict Alliance, but likewise on Account of the Republick's own Interest: 'Tis strange therefore, to find this Republick so mighty eager upon a Commerce, advantageous only to a few private Persons.

To speak out, Sir, I don't see how the Warmth, wherewith your Country-men maintain the said Commerce, can be construed by the *Swedes*, otherwise, than as a Desire to support the *Czar*, and enable him to carry on a War, unjust in its self, and ruinous to their Country.

You insist, Sir, on the Liberty of this Commerce, and give such Reasons, as you think very forcible ones, viz. That the States cannot be without it; That consequently there ought, at least, to be a free Passage left for Ships, that go in Ballast, to load Merchandizes, which are absolutely wanted; That as for those, that carry Contraband Goods, the States abandon them to their Destiny; That the Republick is not justly chargeable, with what is not in Her Power to hinder; That Merchants are free to sell their Goods to whom, and where, they please; That they have, even during the Wars with *France*, in spite of all Prohibitions, furnish'd their own Enemies with Powder and Cannons; and, That in the late Famine, *France* had more Corn from *Holland*, than from any other Part of *Europe*; and, to crown all, you say, That the States have also Treaties subsisting with the *Czar*.

Now, altho' what has been already said, might be deemed sufficient to answer all these Objections in general; yet, for your entire Satisfaction, I will reply to each of them in particular.

The Necessity of this Commerce, which you make such a Noise about, is merely imaginary. The Profit of a few private Men occasions all this Clamour. It seems you could live without this Trade, when the Plague raged in those Parts. And did not the States General themselves, at that Time, in their several Prohibitions, find out Heaps of Difficulties, to keep their Subjects from Trading that way, and bringing in those very Commodities, which People now, for their private Ends, would make us believe the Republick cannot be without.

Besides, are not the Terms of the Treaty clear and precise? Don't both Parties reciprocally oblige themselves, not to give any Assistance to each others, present, or future, Enemies; nor to favour them in any respect whatsoever? Do they not also, mutually promise, to promote one another's Profit and Advantage, and guard against every thing, that may be to the others Prejudice? Ought this Engagement to be of less Force in Favour of the *Swedes*, than you would fain have it understood to be, with Regard to the Interest of the Republick? In Treaties, nothing is to be accounted superfluous, nothing is idle, every Word has its Sense and Weight; nor can they be explain'd, so as to imply a Contradiction.

But, supposing this pretended Necessity of yours, to be as urgent, as you say, I hope you won't infer from thence, that *Sweden* should submit to perish, rather than disturb a Trade, which furnishes its Enemies with Means to overwhelm that Kingdom. Besides, the Necessity that supports your Arguments, is at best but a kind of forbearing, for a little while, to make any considerable Profit of Goods, brought more easily from one Port, than another. In short, you contend for nothing, but a sordid Gain, to which you would sacrifice the Welfare of a whole Nation, now struggling with the manifold Calamities God Almighty has permitted to befall them, and threatned with Loss of Lives, Fortunes, and the entire Overthrow of their Country. Now tell me impartially, Which of these two Necessities ought to take Place? The pretended Liberty for your Merchants, to sell their Goods to whom they please, is another Illusion; for, not to insist upon the Republick's having Power to limit this Liberty, according to the Exigencies of the Publick Weal, It is beyond the Power of any Law, to divest the Crown of *Sweden* of the natural Sentiments of Humanity, and oblige a Sovereign to advance the Profit of some few private Men, in favour of a Liberty inconsistent with the Safety of his Kingdom.

The Impossibility of hindering the Contraventions of Subjects, is a meer Pretence, and implies, either a Weakness, or Connivance of the State. As to the first, the Proclamation gives a quite contrary Idea; the States General make it fully out, that they don't want Power to be obey'd. Had they but been pleas'd to make immediate Use thereof, when the Consequences were represented to them, how easily might they have avoided the Mistrust of being Connivers, and at the same Time prevented these Troubles. Humane Prudence is better discovered in preventing Mischiefs, than in redressing them.

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The Instances of furnishing *France* with Powder and Cannon, make a quite different Impression, from what you would insinuate, and may serve to put *Sweden* more upon its Guard. If the States, as you say, cannot hinder this Disorder, why should any Fault be found with the *Swedes* for endeavouring themselves to fence against the fatal Consequences likely to attend it? If the States sincerely wish the Crown of *Sweden* may extricate it self out of its many and great Misfortunes, they cannot justly be offended, when, in order thereunto, it employs lawful and convenient Measures: Nor can you, for the aforesaid Reasons, expect, that *Sweden* should grant a free Passage, even for those Ships, that go in Ballast, when most of them are sent on purpose to be sold to the *Czar*, to encrease the Number of his Fleet. Letters of your own Merchants, as well as News-Papers, when they speak of Ships taken by the *Swedes*, observe likewise, that some of them had Holes cut for 50, 40, or 30 Guns, and others actually mounted with as many; a Circumstance sufficiently denoting, that these Ships were not sent altogether for the sake of Trade. In Time of Peace, every body knows, so many Guns are too cumbersome an Ornament for a Merchant Ship. Other Vessels of yours carry great Sums of Gold and Silver, to buy Merchandizes with; a great Part of this Money, helps to fill the Coffers of the *Czar*, by way of Customs, and other Exactions, (which your Merchants are pretty well acquainted withal:) This Trade, therefore is a Fund continually supplying that Prince, with fresh Means, to continue an unjust War. So that, let it in what Light you please, the Ruin of *Sweden* is apparent. To this one may add, That all Indulgence and Consideration, in this Case, would but expose that Kingdom to the Derision and Contempt of both Friends and Enemies, besides affording Encouragement to those Abuses, of which we have daily and doleful Instances. It would only be insulting over the Miseries of *Sweden*, to require further Proofs of Facts, which cannot sooner be made manifest, than they are past Remedy.

As for the Treaties, you alledge with the *Czar*, whatever Engagements they may lay the States under, yet cannot they be said to lessen the real Obligation of those States to the Crown of *Sweden*, by Virtue of the Treaty of 1700, and 1703, whereby that Kingdom acquires a plenary Right, to demand the Assistance of your Republick, against the *Muscovites*, instead of strengthening them by a Navigation and Trade, which so visibly augments their Naval Forces. Nor is it at all material when these Treaties were made: If any of an older Date, than that with *Sweden*, be alledged, they cannot concern that Crown; and as to those made since, it is to be hoped, from the Justice and Equiry of the States General, that they have not enter'd into any Engagements, opposite to their former Obligations. But supposing they have, (which nevertheless we don't believe) doth it follow from thence, that such an Engagement must annul their Supulations with the King of *Sweden*? A Pretence of this kind, on the other hand, does but justly encrease those Jealousies, which the *Dutch* raise by their Eagerness for a Navigation, tending directly, at this Juncture, only to favour the grand Designs of the *Czar*, upon the Kingdom of *Sweden*.

There is, after all, nothing that nettles you more, than the pretended Partiality, said to be exercised in the Case of *French* and *English* Ships; that these have been released, when all the *Dutch* Vessels were brought up and confiscated without Mercy.

We don't exactly know here, how many *English* and *French* Ships have been released: The Letters of our Correspondents in *Sweden*, mention one of each Nation. But suppose there were more, give me Leave to say, you have forgot the *Dutch* Ships, that the *Swedes* had formerly in their Power; don't you remember they were all released, and suffer'd to go to other Ports?

I'm sure, above thirty of them came hither, and in the neighbouring Harbours, at a Time, when the Masters themselves confess'd, that the *Swedes*, might in strict Justice, have made every one of them lawful Prize; But it seems this Indulgence, tho' never so considerable, can't affect you half so much, as the Noise made about letting go (perhaps) a single *English* or *French* Ship. Had but the *Swedes*, instead of dismissing your Ships at first, brought them all up without exception, and the Senate obliged them to undergo first a formal Tryal, as has been done in the Case of the *English* and *French* Vessels, I take it for granted, both Sides had been pleas'd. The Senate, by this Process, might then have proclaim'd to all the World, how, the Merchants of *Holland*, who pretend to be *Amicissima Gens*, furnish alone more Succour to the Enemies of *Sweden*, than all other Nations put together. And then, I suppose, the special Favour of setting at once thirty of your Vessels at liberty in form, to one *English* or *French* Ship, would have been most welcome News in your Ears, and perhaps inspired you with Moderation and Discretion.

But, after all, be pleas'd to reflect, that if, not only Vessels stop'd from going to prohibited Ports, but also all those, which have been brought up in *Sweden*, had arrived to the Places they were bound to, as a great many have done, by escaping the forc'd Vigilance of the *Swedes*; I say, in this Case, the *Czar* would, by this time, have been abundantly able to fit out a Fleet of above a hundred Sail: And as to the present Condition of his Fleet, such is the Zeal of your Merchants, in supplying that Prince with Ships, Officers, Arms, and Money, at all Hazards, that it may truly be call'd a *Dutch*, and not a *Muscovite* Fleet, that now makes War upon *Sweden*.

When you were at War with *France*, the *Swedish* Vessels could not escape being confiscated in your Courts of Admiralty, notwithstanding they were provided with Passes from their King, and other necessary Papers; Nay, the very Precautions they took, in Obedience to their Treaties, did but render them the more suspected, whilst your Vessels, on the contrary, come with full Sails to the Ports block'd up, and declared so, without Passports, with Marine Letters not countersigned, without Charter-Parties, and with false double Bills of Loading, in direct Violation of the Sense, as well as express Words of the 20th Article of the Treaty of Commerce: And, after all this, no sooner do's the Admiralty of *Sweden* in her Turn demand only, what Custom, Treaties, and the present Exigency require; but you cry out Pyrates. But, say you, these Proceedings hinder the liberty of Trade? If so, Why

Why do States enter into such Agreements in all their Treaties of Commerce? The Conventions of Sovereigns supply the place of Laws to their Subjects. Speak therefore ingenuously; for we know the Tricks of Merchants too, as well as you, and confess, that these Omissions of yours were made, on purpose to conceal the Succour of Arms and Ammunition brought to the Enemies of Sweden.

Behold, Sir, the Sentiments of your Friends, upon the Conduct of Sweden, so much resented in Holland. I hope you will now agree with me, that that Crown necessarily is obliged to use this Precaution, and disturb the Navigation and Commerce of the Dutch to the Ports in debate; because it visibly favours the Projects of it's Enemies; because, all repeated Entreaties from Sweden for the Assistance of it's Friends and Guaranties, due by virtue of most sacred Treaties, have been vain; and therefore, it has now no other way, besides this disagreeable one, left, to prevent the Storm with which 'tis threaten'd. If after all Guarantees and Friends (or such at least as have all possible Reason to prove so:) will prefer the transitory Advantages of particular Men to a national, solid, and lasting Interest, if they will maintain by open Force this Navigation, and thereby enable the Czar effectually to execute his Projects; that unfortunate Nation, call'd Sweden, must sit down contented with the Glory of not having fallen by the Superiority of Enemies, but the ill Treatment of Allies and Guarantees.

But before I have done, you must not take it amiss, if I ask you, What Idea you form to your selves in Holland, of the Czar's growing Power? Your Countrymen here, and other People of known Experience in Navigation and Commerce, are persuaded, that the Province of Holland and your Town of Amsterdam, have both, cause to tremble at the Progress of his Arms; they wonder, they say, to observe the Indifference your Town in particular shews on this Occasion; but they are still more surpris'd at the Warmth, with which it supports the Interest of, perhaps, not above an hundred private Men in a Trade, needful enough till now; but at this Juncture, most dangerous to your Republick in the Consequences of Things. They are entirely persuaded, say they, that you in Holland ought to look upon the Maritime Provinces of Sweden, as the best Bulworks of your Trade to the Baltick; that consequently, you ought to be alarm'd at the least Alteration made; that according to the Principles of good Policy, every State should take Umbrage, when any Prince is aggrandizing himself by the Ruine of his Neighbours; that, if the Czar ever succeeds in his Designs upon Sweden, all the Favour your Republick must expect from him, amounts to no more, than what Polyphemus reserved for Ulysses, (to be last eaten;) that the Dominion of the Czar in the Baltick, is a Comet, which forebodes to Holland the near approaching Ruin of it's Commerce and Navigation on all that Coast; nay, that to sit still any longer, will deprive the Republick of that Branch of her Trade, which her wisest Men always call the Apple of her Eye. They likewise lay the Designs of the Czar so clearly open, that the most incredulous cannot dispute, but that, whilst your Republick, through an excessive Compliance, hazards this Branch, all the others, that have any relation to it, must needs be affected in proportion.

To make this plainer yet, they enter into a Detail of the Situation of *Muscovy*, the Genius of that Nation, the Arbitrary Power of its Prince, his Ambition to render himself Master of Trade, what Measures he takes to compass his Designs, and how easily he may succeed in them; you won't be displeas'd, I suppose, to find the following distinct Account given of all this.

The Situation of *Muscovy*, as represented by our Geographers, discovers to us immediately, in general, how easily this Country may fetch from *Persia*, by the Way of the *Caspian* Sea, the Products of that Kingdom. The Passage is short and easy. Through the *Black Sea*, *Natolia*, and other Parts of *Turkey*, supply all Things necessary for its Trade. And, *Archangel*, on the other side, draws thither the chief Maritime Nations in *Europe*. A great Importation of Foreign Commodities, is not profitable to a Nation, without a suitable Exportation of its own Produce. But then the most material Point here is, to get this Exportation carry'd on by one's own Subjects, instead of submitting to Laws imposed by others. This the *Czar* has now got a perfect Knowledge of, for which he stands indebted to our *Dutchmen*, who so kindly discovered to him this great Secret of their Trade. How prudently they acted, in this Particular, may be concluded by the Measures taken afterwards, by that Prince, to improve this Knowledge, to the Profit of his vast Dominions. He has been ever since full of this Maxim, and employed his Thoughts chiefly to render it practicable in his own Country. To which End, when, in the Year 1695, in his latter War with the *Turks*, he cross'd most Parts of his Dominion, to go and besiege *Asof*, when he saw the great Rivers of *Mosca*, *Occa*, *Volga*, and *Tanais*, and had tasted the Conveniency of conveying, by these Waters, not only all his Artillery, Ammunition and Provisions, but also a Part of his Infantry; he immediately thought of laying together several great Rivers of his Empire, viz. the *Volga* to the *Tanais*, the *Tanais* to the *Uppa* and *Occa*, and this again to the Lakes of *Mertue* and *Illmen*, by cutting a Canal between the Rivers *Mosca*, *Twerza* and *Sna*. He referr'd his Project to the Examination of some Foreign Engineers; who concluded it impracticable, till one Colonel *Brocket*, more enterprizing than the rest of them, undertook it, under the Direction of *Knes Boritz Alexowitz Galitzin*, Viceroy of *Casan* and *Astracan*; But he, discourag'd by far greater Difficulties, than he was aware of, abandon'd the Work. At last, *Knei Matwey Petrowitz Zagarin*, who in his Voyages had apply'd himself to Mechanics, pursu'd, and finish'd it, in the Year 1707; so that from *Astracan* to *Petersbourg*, is now but one continued Canal, which has been proved by 300 Vessels of different Bigness; and this Way may all the Products of *Persia*, and other Parts of *Asia*, be speedily, and with small Expence, transported to *Petersbourg*; the *Muscovites* may still, cheaper, and with less Trouble, convey from *Petersbourg* to *Astracan*, and so to *Persia*, the *European* Commodities, which the *English* and *Dutch* carry thither, with abundant Hazzard and Charge, round the *Cape of Good Hope*.

The Genius of the *Muscovites*, is altogether suited to Trade; their Children are chiefly bred up to it; they surpass all Nations in Frugality; they are inured to Fatigue and Hardships; and it is notorious to those, that have been used to deal with them, how far they outstrip all others in Artifice

lifice and Subtily. You have been told, just now, how a Native of *Muscovy* accomplish'd the Union of those Rivers, which Foreigners thought impracticable. You may judge, your self, of their Capacity, by the Progresses they make at *Amsterdam*, and elsewhere, in all sorts of Sciences and Professions. Do they not learn them as perfectly, and in as few Years, as your own Youth? We are told, from good Hands, that the *Czar* maintains, in *Holland* alone, several Thousands of young *Muscovites*, of all Ages and Conditions, some to learn Navigation, some to understand Trade, and others all sorts of Manufactures and Handicrafts: These, when they have, in the Judgment of their *Muscovite* Overseers, served sufficient Apprenticeships, return back to their own Country, and are there distributed, by the *Czar*, into suitable Places, to practise what they have learnt. Have you not likewise, at *Amsterdam*, several *Russian* Factors, who have Opportunities of letting themselves into the very Secret of Trade, during their Stay there; of which, no doubt, but they give a very good Account to their Master? Add to this, that during the last War with *France*, the *Dutch* took on Board their Men of War, many Hundreds of *Muscovites*, to instruct them, in the Art of Commanding and Managing a Ship. King *Sigismund*, of *Poland*, being at War with the *Muscovites*, in the Year 1559, and well acquainted with their Genius, wrote to Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, desiring Her to prohibit the Navigation of Her Subjects to the Town of *Nerva*, then in Possession of the *Muscovites*. He alledg'd this amongst other Reasons, That hereby, not only Merchandizes, but also Arms, were transported to that Nation; that by their Intercourse with Strangers, they would certainly come to learn their Manners, Arts and Sciences, their way of Fighting and Trading; and, in Time, grow too hard for all other Nations. This we see fulfilled in our Days, and (if you will give me Leave to say) by the kind Assistance of your Countrymen, the *Dutch*.

I will not enlarge upon the vast Power and Strength of this Prince, nor of his prodigious Extent of Country, secured by Nature, from the Inroads of its Neighbours. The War he has carry'd on these 14 Years against *Sweden*, and against the *Turks*; the numerous Armies kept on Foot upon the Frontiers, and which he has been still able to recruit, notwithstanding the Loss of several Battels, and the great Havocks made by the Plague, and other Diseases, are undisputable Evidences hereof.

All this Greatness is founded in the *Czar's* Arbitrary Dominion over his own Subjects, who are all, from the lowest to the highest, treated as Slaves; the Nobility, and People of Condition, are oblig'd to pay such Sums of Money, and as often as he thinks fit to demand them, without daring to sue for any Abatement, or represent their Inability.

Pray be pleas'd to call to Mind the Reports hereof, made to you by several *Muscovites* themselves. I pass over many other Circumstances, too tedious to be inserted in this Letter; you cannot say, but the aforesaid ones sufficiently evince, that a Prince of such immense Power, and boundless Ambition, with competent Skill in the Exercise of that Power, may soon render himself most formidable to the other Princes of *Europe*. He is but too well acquainted, with the Need other Maritime Powers have, of the Products and Merchandizes of his Dominions; He knows how to keep

all the Profit of this Trade among his own Subjects; they are taught to manufacture, and cure at home, all the aforesaid Merchandizes, and afterwards to export them in their own Vessels; to sell them themselves to other Nations; and there buy, at first Hand, (and consequently cheapest) whatever Commodities are wanted in their own Country.

It is this Knowledge, that makes the *Czar* so earnest to establish a Commerce in his own Kingdom, anserable to his vast Projects, and to make himself Master of the Navigation, possess'd hitherto by other Nations.

There is an Objection commonly made, that the *Muscovites* cannot be supposed to arrive, so soon, at that compleat Knowledge in Trade, which has cost others so much longer Pains and Care; it is surprizing, that even the Maritime Powers, should suffer themselves to be lull'd asleep by so great a Mistake. No doubt, but long indefatigable Pains and Labour, are requir'd to bring Knowledge first to Perfection; but when that is once attained, considering the Natural Capacity of the *Muscovites* for Trade and Navigation, they may quickly be supposed perfect too, under the Direction of so able Masters, as the *Dutch*, and be let into those Secrets, which the *Czar* has such abundant Means to make the most of. Have not *Muscovite* Vessels already brought Merchandizes directly from *Archangel* to *Leghorn*, upon their own Risque? And, are not these Facts too well known, upon the Exchange of *Amsterdam*, to need further Proof?

As to Means, requisite for the putting this great Design in Execution, certainly no Prince in the World is so well furnish'd: Your *Amsterdam* Merchants, that trade to *Archangel*, can best tell, upon what foot the *Muscovy* Commerce stands; that the *Czar* himself is the principal Merchant of all the Empire; that his Subjects have Leave to sell only some certain kinds of Merchandize directly to Foreigners, being obliged to deliver the rest into his Magazines, at a settled Rate, which his Commissaries sell to Foreign Merchants, either for ready Money, or in Exchange of such Commodities as will bring double Profit to the *Czar*. This Prince hath still a more extraordinary Method to enrich Himself, by obliging his Subjects to take his Money for double the intrinick Value. As for Example, a Ruble, which is worth no more, than 50 Copyes or Pence, is reckon'd to them as 100 Pence, when he deals with them for Merchandizes or pays his Debts. But, when they pay their Tribute, or buy any thing out of his Magazines, these very Rubles will go for no more, than their Weight. He has likewise attempted to force foreign Merchants, to take their Payments in this little Money, upon the same Foot. 'Tis true, they have not submitted to this Imposition, but then they are obliged to pay their Customs in good Rix-dollars, and two of them are demanded to make one Ruble, which is much more than its intrinick Value.

Now should this Prince remain in an undisturbed Possession of a Port in the *Baltick*, would not his first Care be, in Pursuit of these Projects, to render the Trade of Foreigners languishing or useless? Nor can any thing be more easily brought about, whilst his own Ships and Subjects transport and sell his Merchandize to all Maritime Nations; and these will have them, how they can, to supply their Navies, Navigation, and other necessary Occasions: For no body cares of whom, but how cheap, he buys a Thing.

The *Czar* will be able, for the aforesaid Reasons, to undersell all others, by regulating the current Prizes of his Commodities, according to the Want or Plenty he finds of them in other Parts. And suppose, that he should be a considerable Loofer for some Years, 'tis nevertheless certain, that this Loss, at first setting out, tho' considerable enough to break an hundred private rich Men. yet would hardly be felt by so great a Prince; and yet his running this Risque for a few Years only, must needs make him Master of the most considerable Trade to all the Maritime Powers in *Europe*, viz, of the Materials, which they require for Maintaining their Shipping and Navigation, and which they cannot get so good, nor in so great Quantity, from any other Parts.

The only thing wanting to compass this vast Design, is, for him to get Possession of a Port in the *Baltick*; to this end only he began an unjust War with *Sweden*; this he has absolutely insisted upon in all his Overtures of Peace, and after all his Defeats; this is the main Article he aims at to compleat his vast Designs; without which, all his great and surprizing Works, in joining Rivers and Seas, would be vain, and the Ease where-with he has contrived to transport *Asian* Merchandizes to the *Baltick*, prove useless.

Now what else can be-inferr'd from all this, but, as it has already been said, that when the *Czar* has made himself Master of those Ports in the *Baltick*, which he so much sets his Heart upon, he will be able solely to give Laws to Commerce, and have it carryed on, by his own Subjects, exclusive of all the Maritime Powers.

Can you, upon the Exchange of *Amsterdam*, be so weak, as to question whether this be his Aim or no? Or, to what other Motive do you impute his ardent Desire to keep the aforesaid Ports? If the Maritime Powers are not blind to their true Interest, surely they will heartily concur, in all Measures possible, to wrest from him those Advantages, which *Sweden's* Misfortunes have put into his Hands. Who can imagine, that, if ever he is suffered to keep any of these Ports, he will stop there? That he will attempt nothing further for the Establishment of his Trade? And, that having brought the very Thing to bear, he has sought with so much Eagerness, he should neglect to give the finishing Stroke to his Design?

People are apt to flatter themselves with the pleasing Fancy, of how much Regard he will pay, after all, to the Remonstrances of the Maritime Powers; but can anything of this kind be supposed to keep him back? If, in the beginning of his Enterprizes, he presumes enough upon his Forces, to threaten them already; what are they to expect, when he shall be in a Condition of forcing them to submit to such Laws in Trade, as he shall think fit to impose? You may remember, if you please, that it is but a few Months since he declared at *London*, that the Effects and Persons of the *English* in *Muscovy*, should pay for the Queens Conduct towards the King of *Denmark* his Ally. We don't certainly know, whether he has made the same kind of Declaration in *Holland*. Perhaps he thought this Warning superfluous, as to you, seeing how effectually your own Fears, and the short-liv'd Gain of private Men among you, serve his Purposes, and keep you from reflecting upon the Danger of his Designs.

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You know what these Designs are, he makes them manifest in the Memorial of his Minister at the *Hague*. Do but impartially examine the genuine Meaning of his Words, and you will form the Conclusion your self. He says there, " That his Czarish Majesty, having nothing more at Heart, than to extend, and put the Trade of his Country in a flourishing Condition; hereby to procure still greater Advantages for the trading Subjects on both Sides; has thought it conducive to these Ends, that certain Merchandizes should be transported to Petersbourg; but, being informed, that the States General seem'd dissatisfy'd with this Alteration, his said Majesty, in consideration thereof, is willing to desist from his said Purposes, tho' very important, &c.

Now you consider this Readiness, to put the Trade of *Arch-Angel* upon its former Foot, as an Argument of his Affection and Friendship; and you are highly delighted with the Credit (as you call it,) of your Republick, whose single Representation can produce so quick and so agreeable an Effect. You say, it is impossible to use more Friendly Expressions, than what are contained in this Memorial, and you extol to the Skies those valuable Assurances in favour of Commerce. I am not about to reason with those that are swayed alone by Self-Interest. We are commonly most deceived in those things, which we desire with the greatest Eagerness; lay but aside your Prejudice for a Moment; Set these Expressions to view in a proper Light, and you will own, that they verifie what I have said already. The Czar's chief Aim (as he professes himself) is to make Trade flourish in his Country; and the Establishment of it at *Petersbourg*, is said to accomplish this End. He impatiently longed to see the Fruits of all his Pains and Expences, to gain this Point. He does not go about to conceal this Longing, and why indeed should he, from such Friends, as he finds thus easy to receive any impression, and to mistake for real Assurances, the Compliments he is pleas'd to make them, of procuring considerable Advantages for the Subjects of both Nations? Have not these last Words gilt the Pill finely? Your Country-men here look upon all these fair Promises as meer Illusions. Can the Czar, (say they) push the Trade of his Subjects as far as he desires, without undermining that of the *Dutch*? They desire you to enquire of your own Merchants, whether, since the Alterations made in those Parts, their Trade thither is as advantageous, as formerly; or whether they can propose continuing it upon the present Foot, after the Czar has executed those Projects, which he only deferrs, till a more favourable Opportunity? May your Merchants at *Revel*, *Narva*, and *Riga*, sell their Cargoes to whom they please? By no means; for they are obliged to deal with the Company establish'd by the Czar, at what Prices this Company shall think fit to allow them, after many previous Vexations. The great Trade of Hemp at *Riga*, is already made a Monopoly; nay, your own Merchants have themselves set forth in their Petition deliver'd (when the Czar transported Trade from *Arch-Angel* to *Petersbourg*) the just Reasons they had to fear, least in time the Czar might entirely alter the Course of Trade, and deprive the *Dutch* thereof, in favour of some other Nation. Besides, you lay too great Stress upon the supposed Credit of your Republick, if you fancy the Czar desist'd purely to please her. Letters from *Petersbourg*, as well as *Muscom*, gave at that time a very different Account of this Matter, by sending Word, that this Prince suspended his Design by the Advice of his Council,

which,

which, after debating every Circumstance, found it too early as yet, to shew the Lions Claws, and let the World into the Secret of their Master's true Designs; that after a Peace was concluded, and when he had secured to himself the quiet Possession of some Port or other in the *Baltick*, then was the proper Season to take this last Step towards accomplishing his Ends, and at the same time, to sooth the Complaints of Foreign Powers, he might, with appearance of Justice, insist upon preferring the Trade of his own Dominions, before that of others. Thus, Sir, you see how these things are only delay'd, but not forgot.

There remains but one more of your Objections to be answer'd. You urge that in Politicks, People often depart from the Rules of good Logick, that Princes are often charged with stronger Views, and deeper Designs, than they really have; that they are subject to the same Infirmities, as the rest of Mankind; that we often look for great Mysteries in their Actions, when there are none; and that this is now the Case of the Czar himself, who being a very ambitious Prince, and delighting in War, can never be supposed, slegmatick enough to employ his Thoughts upon Things, that demand a long and a profound Peace to perfect.

This Objection has nothing in it significant enough, to abate the force of what hath been already said upon this Subject. Princes are Men indeed, but their Thoughts are seldom the same, with those of Common Men. The Sphere of their Activity is rais'd as far above the Condition of other Mortals, as the Fortune of private Persons is inferior to that of Princes. Particular Men often act without Design, but the bright Deeds of Princes generally mean something more than ordinary. Take but the pains seriously to reflect upon the Steps taken by the Czar, and you will be convinced, I dare say. His Ambition extends not only to enlarge the Bounds of his Empire, but likewise to establish his Dominion in the *Baltick*? He began the most unjust War upon *Sweden* that ever was, to get Ports there, and he continues it still, to maintain himself in Possession. Don't take these to be Fears of a fresh Date, for so long ago as the Year 1657, when the Court of *Denmark* and *Brandenbourg* would engage the *Muscovites* to fall upon *Sweden*; they instructed their Minister, so to manage this Affair, that the Czar might by no Means get any footing in the *Baltick*, because they did not know what to do with so troublesome a Neighbour; for so they express themselves, according to *Puffendorff's* History of *Brandenbourg*. This Precaution ought now more especially to employ the Thoughts of Princes and States, considering the increasing Power and Greatness of the Czar. His Ambition and Ardour to form his Navy, and get a considerable Fleet is notorious. He has learnt the first Rudiments of Navigation and Commerce in *Holland*, and a Peace won't at all hinder him from discovering, even in your Ports, how much he is improv'd; Nay, he wants nothing but Peace, to gather the Fruit, and to eat Chesnuts at their Cost, who now lend him Hands to take them out of the Fire.

In short, one may conclude without the Gift of Prophecy, that your Town of *Amsterdam* (like another Nation I could Name, in a case much of the same Nature) will bewail, when 'tis too late, her great Forwardness to instruct the *Muscovites* in those Arts, which they won't fail most gratefully of applying,

ing, to the Ruin of their Masters. It seems, a specious and momentary Profit makes you blind to what must inevitably come to pass, and prevails upon you, even to break in upon the Laws of Friendship and Alliances. In fine, your Town contributes to the aggrandising of a Power, whose Weight will crush her to Pieces: You make a meer Game of Interest, Amity, Alliance, and Guaranty, and the Czar is the only Gainer. You expect great Acknowledgments from him, but take heed you don't in the end resemble Gamesters, that depend intirely upon taking in good Cards. Nor are those at all to be pitied, who, being greedy to win all, loose every thing they play for.

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makes you blind to what must inevitably come to pass, and prevails upon
you even to break in upon the Laws of Friendship and Alliance. In time
your Power will be diminished by the aggrandizement of a Power, whose
growth will be your ruin. You make a most dangerous Interest. A single
and Guaranty and the Court is thereby secured. You expect great Advan-
ces from him, but take heed you do not in the end resemble Gamblers,
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for.

Edm. Burke

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